

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 2294

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: GROWING PROBLEMS WITH ROMANIANS

NOFORN

1. IN RECENT WEEKS ROMANIAN DELEGATION HERE HAS TAKEN INCREASINGLY STUBBORN POSITIONS ON CERTAIN ISSUES WHICH ARE OF INTEREST TO US, OR WHICH ARE IMPORTANT IN TERMS OF GENERAL PROGRESS ON STAGE II DRAFTING. WE HAVE TRIED TO BE HELPFUL TO ROMANIANS, OR AT LEAST TO AVOID CAUSING PROBLEMS FOR THEM, BUT THEIR ATTITUDE MAY BEGIN TO CAUSE US SOME DIFFICULTIES TOWARD THE END OF STAGE II, BOTH ON POINTS OF SPECIAL US INTEREST AND AS A STUMBLING BLOC TO OVERALL PROGRESS. ROMANIAN PENCHANT FOR SPREADING MALICIOUS RUMORS--SOMETIMES DIRECTED AT US--HAS NOT HELPED. WE LIST BELOW THE SPECIFIC ISSUES ON WHICH ROMANIANS HAVE TAKEN FIRM, AND SOMETIMES TROUBLESOME, POSITIONS.

A. PEACEFUL CHANGE -- ROMANIANS, WITH FRENCH, BLOCKED ANY MOVEMENT TOWARD REGISTRATION OF PEACEFUL CHANGE SENTENCE WHICH WE TABLED THREE WEEKS AGO, BY STATING THAT THIS COULD NOT BE TAKEN UP UNTIL SECOND READING OF THE PRINCIPLES. FRENCH POSITION, THAT PEACEFUL CHANGE LANGUAGE SHOULD NOT BE REGISTERED UNTIL QRR AND
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EQUAL CLAUSES ARE AGREED, MAY WELL PERMIT FRENCH TO

AGREE TO REGISTRATION OF PEACEFUL CHANGE EARLIER THAN SECOND READING OF PRINCIPLES, WHICH WOULD LEAVE ROMANIANS AS ONLY HOLD OUT. ALSO, WHILE FRENCH HAVE TOLD FULL CSCE THAT THEY AGREE WITH OUR PEACEFUL CHANGE LANGUAGE AND PLACEMENT, ROMANIANS HAVE TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT THEY HAVE SERIOUS PROBLEMS WITH IT (GENEVA 1668 EXDIS). WE DO NOT KNOW HOW SERIOUS THESE OBJECTIONS MAY BE TO ROMANIANS FROM SUBSTANTIVE VIEWPOINT AND THEIR BLOCKAGE MAY BE AT LEAST PARTIALLY DESIGNED TO CREATE LEVERAGE FOR LATER USE ON OTHER SUBJECTS OF INTEREST TO THEM. WE HAVE NOT REPEAT NOT ENCOURAGED ROMANIANS TO THINK THERE IS ANY POSSIBILITY OF REVISING PEACEFUL CHANGE PHRASE, AND BELIEVE IT SHOULD BE MADE CLEAR TO THEM ON EVERY APPROPRIATE OCCASION THAT THEY ARE ALONE ON THIS ONE AND WILL NOT REPEAT NOT BE ABLE TO ALTER CURRENT PHRASEOLOGY.

B. QRR SAVING CLAUSE-- ROMANIANS, ALONG WITH ALL NEUTRAL DELS, OPPOSE PRESENT QRR DRAFT. ROMANIANS HAVE TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT THEY CANNOT ACCEPT LANGUAGE WHICH THEY FEEL CONFIRMS THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE. WE HAVE NO REPEAT NOT COMMENTED ON THIS SUBJECT TO ROMANIANS, BUT HAVE RECOMMENDED TO DEPARTMENT THAT QRR SAVING CLAUSE BE REVISED SOMEWHAT TO TRY TO MEET AT LEAST SOME ROMANIAN OBJECTIONS. (GENEVA 1112 EXDIS AND GENEVA 1324).

C. SEPARATE NON-USE OF FORCE PROPOSAL -- ROMANIANS HAVE RECENTLY TABLED A BRIEF DRAFT PREAMBLE FOR THEIR NON-USE OF FORCE (NUF) PROPOSAL, WHICH COULD, IF ACCEPTED, BE USED TO ESTABLISH THAT NUF PAPER SHOULD BE AN INDEPENDENT CONFERENCE DOCUMENT, SEPARATE FROM PRINCIPLES DECLARATION. SINCE QRR SAVING CLAUSE MIGHT THEN NOT APPLY TO NUF PAPER, SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT WOULD CAUSE US SERIOUS PROBLEMS, OF WHICH ROMANIANS ARE WELL AWARE. WE WERE HELPFUL TO ROMANIANS IN MOVING OPERATIVE PARAGRAPHS OF NUF PAPER TOWARD REGISTRATION, BUT MADE IT CLEAR TO THEM THAT TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO US NUF PAPER WOULD HAVE TO BE INCLUDED IN SAME DOCUMENT AS PRINCIPLES DECLARATION. ROMANIANS HAVE ASSURED US AND FULL CSCE THAT THEIR DRAFT CONFIDENTIAL

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PREAMBLE DOES NOT IMPLY THAT NUF PAPER WILL BE A SEPARATE DOCUMENT, BUT THEIR FINAL INTENTIONS ON THIS POINT REMAIN AMBIGUOUS. WE ANTICIPATE THAT SOVIETS WILL CONTINUE STRENUOUSLY TO RESIST SEPARATE ROMANIAN NUF PAPER.

D. VOLUNTARY NATURE OF CBMS-- ROMANIANS REACTED IMMEDIATELY TO SOVIET PROPOSAL THAT CBMS BE VOLUNTARY, SAYING THAT THEY COULD NOT ACCEPT VOLUNTARY CBMS, AND THAT

PARTICIPATING STATES SHOULD UNDERTAKE A FIRM COMMITMENT TO IMPLEMENT CBMS. MOST WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELS ARE NOW THINKING IN TERMS OF RESOLVING CBM NEGOTIATIONS THROUGH A TRADE-OFF OF VOLUNTARINESS AGAINST MEANINGFUL PARAMETERS AND ROMANIAN POSITION WILL UNDOUBTEDLY MAKE SUCH A SOLUTION DIFFICULT. IN ADDITION, ROMANIANS ARE CURRENTLY CIRCULATING A RUMOR TO EFFECT THAT THERE IS A US-SOVIET DEAL UNDER WHICH SOVIETS AGREED ON PEACEFUL CHANGE LANGUAGE IN EXCHANGE FOR US AGREEMENT ON VOLUNTARY CBMS.

E. BASKET II LANGUAGE ON LDCS-- ROMANIANS, TOGETHER WITH OTHERS WHO CONSIDER THEMSELVES LDCS, INSISTED ON A REFERENCE TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN EUROPE IN BASKET II PREAMBE, AND FINALLY WORKED OUT A COMPROMISE PHRASE WITH SOVIETS WHICH SEEMED TO SATISFY BASIC NEEDS ALL AROUND. WE GAVE SUPPORT TO ROMANIANS DURING EARLY STAGES OF THIS DISCUSSION. NOW, HOWEVER, A NUMBER OF WESTERN COUNTRIES WANT BALANCING REFERENCE SHOWING SPECIAL CONCERN FOR LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, AND THIS IS ACCEPTABLE TO ALL OTHER LDCS. BUT ROMANIA HAS INSISTED THAT ANY SUCH REFERENCE MUST BE IN A SEPARATE PARAGRAPH AND ACCOMPANIED BY A REFERENCE TO LANDLOCKED AND ISLAND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. THIS HAS NOT BEEN ACCEPTABLE TO OTHERS AND ISSUE IS STALLED. ROMANIA, WITHOUT SUPPORT, IS ALSO CONTINUING TO INSIST OF REFERENCE TO "NEW ECONOMIC ORDER" IN BASKET II PREAMBLE.

F. FOLLOW-UP --ROMANIANS CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR A COMMITMENT TO PERIODIC FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS WITH A GENERAL MANDATE, AND WOULD LIKE TO GIVE THESE MEETINGS SOME RESPONSIBILITY FOR COORDINATION OF OTHER FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES. WHILE THIS IS NOT PRESENTLY
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A PROBLEM BECAUSE NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS ISSUE ARE STILL IN EARLY STAGES, WE EXPECT THAT ROMANIAN AMBITIONS FOR A FOLLOW-UP MECHANISM WILL MAKE A COMPROMISE MORE DIFFICULT TO FIND. WE HAVE BEEN AS SYMPATHETIC AS POSSIBLE TOWARD ROMANIANS ON FOLLOW-UP, ADVISING THEM TO BE PATIENT AND A SOLUTION ACCEPTABLE TO THEM WILL PROBABLY BE FOUND IN THE END. ROMANIANS APPEAR TO BE GENUINELY APPRECIATIVE OF US POSITION ON THIS QUESTION.

G. TIMING -- WITH BREZHNEV PROPOSING A THIRD STAGE ON JUNE 30, AND MOST WESTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS EVIDENTLY RESPONDING FAVORABLY TO THE IDEA OF A CSCE CONCLUSION THIS SUMMER, ROMANIANS HAVE BEEN MUTTERING DARKLY IN THE CORRIDORS THAT THE CONFERENCE WILL NOT BE CONCLUDED UNTIL THEY ARE SATISFIED WITH THE RESULTS. IN VIEW OF

THE TACTICS THEY HAVE FOLLOWED THUS FAR, WE WOULD NOT
BE SURPRISED TO SEE THE ROMANIANS WITHHOLD CONSENSUS ON
THE FINAL CSCE DOCUMENTS IN ORDER TO OBTAIN THEIR OB-
JECTIVES. DALE

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